foreign exchange earnings; however, only with the proper controls can tourism enhance cross-cultural interchange and understanding and prevent cultural sterilization, while being financially profitable.

As Tonga develops and as her population continues to grow, more and more foreign goods are being imported (e.g. canned food, motor vehicles, tobacco, manufactured articles). So, in order to avoid becoming increasingly dependent economically on other countries, Tonga is currently seeking to develop and pursue interests and small industries (e.g. forestry, shipping, juice extraction, fisheries, vanilla production) which will help increase her cash income, will provide more job

[p.54-C]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 .(1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

opportunities within the Kingdom, and will help Tonga to become as economically self-sufficient as possible. Meanwhile, with a modest budget, she is also striving to improve educational and medical facilities and domestic social conditions.

Internal air-service is now functioning within the Kingdom, and plans for an airstrip to land international jets are being materialized; Tonga also intends to establish her own airline, called "Friendly Islands Air." These things, in addition to expanding international and local cargo and passenger shipping services, will hopefully serve to improve Tonga's communications and relations with the world, and

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
· 1974 0U9 Tonga 0U9

509 will facilitate travel to and from Tonga for residents
505 and visitors.

131 The recent establishment of Tonga's first
commercial bank, the "Bank of Tonga," with its
179 modern banking and checking account system, loan
[453] service, and increased interest rates, is intended to
further the economic growth of Tonga. Limited
179 foreign aid is being received from New Zealand, U.K.,
648 Australia, U.S.A., Japan, Canada, India and other
countries. But like all developing nations in the
Pacific today, Tonga is concerned with *autonomous development*, and it is in this interest only – not to
become the pawn of a major power – that she seeks

[p. 55-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 598]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
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external assistance. Herein lies the crux of the problem: Tonga, like her Pacific island neighbors, wants and needs to shape her own future. But an aggressive outside world, offering economic advancement, threatens social and cultural decay. Perhaps the most promising concept is the banding together of the Pacific nations to research solutions to common problems, and the joining of their natural and human resources to help each other.

The South Pacific Commission, which has operated since 1947, is a body which deals with problems of Pacific countries in fields such as

[p. 57-B]

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
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179 agriculture, education, health, marketing, labor and finance. Among other organizations is the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation (SPEC), established in 1972 to encourage cooperation among members in tourism, economic development, trade, transportation, and other matters. Tonga is a member of SPEC, along with Western Samoa, Fiji, the Cook Islands, New Zealand, Nauru, Australia, and Papua New Guinea. It is such international cooperation and communication among Pacific nations which provide hope for the future of Pacific cultures.

[p. 57-c]

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Tonga's future is indeed, more than ever before, tied in with the future of other Pacific nations. Each country, no matter how small, must play an active role in the shaping of its own destiny – individually, as a separate unit, and collectively, as a vital part of the Pacific community.

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Tonga is changing, as she must in order to survive. Survival, however, rather than being contingent upon material gains, depends on the preservation of cultural identity, of self-respect, and of a sense of unity. Hopefully, in the pursuit of development and growth, Tonga will be able to keep a firm hold – not so much on the structure, but more importantly on *the spirit and the essence* of traditional Tongan society.

[p. 58-A]

178 As one prominent Tongan, Bishop Patelisio P.
181 Finau, said with poignancy at the "Seminar on
179 Social Issues in Development Planning in the South Pacific," held in Suva in late 1973:

> "Forced changes can be so artificial. Let us learn from history: people admire the humanness, the dignity and poise of our people. We still master time and are not its slaves. We do not want to join the 'rat race' . . . The search for technical assistance is necessary, but unless men can feel they can grow as human beings, grow as masters of their own development, share in decisions, no amount of material effort will achieve liberation." [4.58-B]

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

of the migratory chain will observe traditional obligations towards their fellow kinsmen which to date have tempered the full effects of migration. If continued migratory pressures should cause a change of values at this level, it seems highly probably that attitudes towards authority, rank and status in general will also change. This could have serious consequences for government.

The effects of migration on the outer islands should also not be under-rated. Informants stated that boys successful in their schooling did not return from Tongatapu.[26] The outer islands are therefore losing their most talented youth, people who could become what Breese calls 'representatives of decentralising government programs.'[27] The decline of commercial activity has lead to an exodus of a small but vital group of part-Tongans and Europeans, and many Tongan families exercising traditional roles of leadership have also left for Tongatapu.

Even more serious is the rapid growth of Nuku'alofa where, despite government efforts, the number of jobs available continues to decline. Nearly half of the males in the working age group (20-59 years) claimed, during fieldwork in 1963, to be employed in agriculture. It was then estimated that some 31 percent of household heads were without access to land. The 1966 census showed the situation to be more serious: Fifty-eight percent of all Tongan males were without land, and 83 percent in the 15-29 year age group; while 67 percent of Nuku'alofa males had no land, and the figure for the 15-29 year age group could also be expected to be higher. While Nuku'alofa accounted for a higher proportion of those in non-agricultural activities in 1956, women constituted 35 percent of the work force and government provided over a quarter of the jobs. As the percentage of those employed in non-agricultural activities decreased slightly (20 to 19 percent) between 1956 and 1966, it is clear that the overall employment situation had deteriorated. When one realises that 'persons entering the work force in the next ten years will be eight times greater than those retiring' the task of providing further employment is formidable.[28] In such a situation it will be politically disastrous if measures are not designed to create an increasing number of jobs and to encourage people to remain in rural areas.

Hirschman has suggested three alternatives in planning: dispersal, concentration on growing points, and the promotion of backward areas. Both he and Lewis have argued strongly for a concentration on growing points, claiming that 'unbalanced growth . . . sets up pressures,

[26] Walsh (1964): 165.
[27] Breese (1966): 42.
[28] McArthur (1963): Table 3, estimates those seeking non-primary employment would number 13,460 by 1971, assuming no expansion of primary industries since 1956, and 9,030 if such expansion is commensurate with the growth of the work force.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

tensions and compulsions towards growth at subsequent points.'[29] It is not easy to reconcile such a proposition with the Tongan situation. Firstly, Nuku'alofa is not, at least as yet, a 'growing point' in the economic sense, for it lacks the industrialisation which is the 'dynamic force' of development.[30] With barely seven percent of those employed engaged in some kind of part-manufacturing or processing, it generates little of its own wealth. Secondly, with so many of its people dependent on agriculture and with a low per capita income, Nuku'alofa does not stimulate agricultural growth in the outer islands. Lastly, it has virtually no private sector capable of providing investment and government funds are directed mainly towards transport, and services, most of these in Tongatapu.

The resources of Tonga are limited. Agricultural exports accounted for 97 percent of all exports in 1967; coconut products representing 49 percent and bananas 45 percent. As the greater part of the income of government, which is the main investor and employer, is derived from these sources, the level of agricultural production is of vital concern for overall development.[31] The promotion of tourism may increase income levels in Nuku'alofa to the extent where this will ultimately 'trickle down' to the outer islands, and sizeable aid from Britain may ensure an adequate infrastructure for development, but development itself seems firmly based in agriculture, for, with such limited resources, industrial development and growth must originate in the countryside.[32] If this proposition is correct, concentration of resources in Nuku'alofa is unlikely to generate economic growth, at least for a long time, and with population increasing at its present rate this may be too long a time to wait if social harmony and the present social order is to be maintained.

In the meantime, copra production has declined by 50 percent (1957-67), and while banana production has increased by over 280 percent, most of this increase has come from Tongatapu which produced 83 percent of exports in 1967.[33] The low level of copra production can be traced largely to neglect in one form or another, and this is likely to affect trees now being planted with British government aid money. I would suggest that neglect stems mainly from these causes:

1. Agriculture generally is held in low esteem, and this influences the amount of money devoted to agricultural development.

[29] Hirschman (1958): 190, 184.
[30] See Myrdal (1957): 29.
[31] The quasi-government Copra and Produce Boards are in this sense included with 'government'.
[32] For criticism of development fund allocation see Walsh (1967a).
[33] Banana exports 1967 (percent): Ha'apai 9.7, Vava'u 0.8, 'Eua 6.3; Copra exports 1967 (percent): Tongatapu 48.5, Ha'apai 20.2, Vava'u 23.9 (the highest for seven years), other 7.3.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

islands as a constant readjustment between real and assumed expectations, and movement is still much influenced by social factors concerned with reciprocal obligations of kin, of chief and commoner, of the village, the church, of factors concerned with social cohesion and unity.

Some new patterns have emerged. The high southern *liku* coast of Tongatapu is attracting population as other areas become more congested. Many villages have grown beyond the expected optimum size for social cohesion, and some have coalesced.[35] It seems likely that new social groupings will cut across the village and possibly undermine kin groupings which, to date, have eased problems often associated with population increase and movement elsewhere. Many of the factors influencing population movement are new, the two most obvious and important being education, which permits social mobility in a society still noted for its rigid stratification, and money, the wherewithal to achieve many new expectations, and increasingly a necessity for even the most isolated islander. Nuku'alofa is no longer a village; it has many of the characteristics of a town, and its rapid growth, its problems and attempted solutions tally with patterns of urbanisation in other parts of the Pacific. Moreover, the pace and direction of movement—to Nuku'alofa and Tongatapu—have prompted government development policies which have further exaggerated the economic imbalance among islands, leaving Vava'u with land tied up in title disputes and Tongatapu overflowing with people who have migrated in anticipation of opportunities which must often exclude the legal occupance of land.

Traditional attitudes to kin, rank and land have helped Tonga to meet the problems associated with population growth and movement with little social distress. This is true of the past, it is still true today, but it is not certain that it will be true of the future.

[35] Spillius (1959) considers the question of optimum village size. There were 13 settlements with over a thousand population in 1966. These accounted for 46.3 percent of the total population.

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49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

building small dwellings near the main dwelling for siblings of the opposite sex, parents, and married members of the same family.

The need to step up the rate of industrialisation is shown by the beginning of land shortages, the increase of adult "landless" men, the indirect evidence of under-employment throughout the Kingdom, and the movement of increasing numbers of rural dwellers to urban centres, especially to Nuku'alofa.

The most spectacular development in Tonga since 1956 has been the acquisition of a national shipping fleet. Before that date, two motorized sailing ketches were the principal means of inter-island transport; all fuel was imported from Fiji in 44-gallon drums. The progressive, far-sighted administration ordered the first vessel, *Aoniu* (514 tons), in 1956; it was delivered in 1958 and by 1960 it had made a gross earning of £T68,120 with net profits of £T13,970 after providing for depreciation and other running expenses. The Tongan fleet now comprises seven vessels, with the largest, *Niuvakai* (1,800 tons), plying between Sydney Australia, Japan, Fiji, and Tonga. Although great savings are now made each year on freights to and from the Kingdom, the shipping line has, however, done little to relieve the need for more jobs in Tonga. Raw materials could be transported to the Kingdom by these ships to provide employment in selected (possibly labour intensive) industries. If European and Australasian governments do not take the initiative by offering experts for this purpose it is likely that trade and aid may be forthcoming from Asia, especially from Japan.

Tonga has also shown how a state-owned industry can provide a large degree of independence for a small nation. The Tonga Copra Board and allied government agencies started with improving the quality of export copra, and now, with the aid of British finance, have launched a highly successful Coconut Replanting Scheme throughout the land. Government industries have already been discussed. Philatelic and numismatic sales are still being fully exploited by the Minister of Finance.

Nevertheless, economic growth, although spectacular for a country using mainly its own limited resources, is not fast enough to cater for the demand for wage labour. While the population continues to increase at the present rate, the need for the expansion of wage labour, either on the land or in industries, will persist.

Finally, economic expansion and industrialization is not by itself a panacea for the pressures and problems besetting this tiny island Kingdom; techniques will need to be changed, social privileges equalised, and human resources marshalled and developed, especially in the fields of education and vocational training. Education for white collar jobs carries greater prestige, but efficient production of export crops may be more lucrative for the individual.

At present, compulsory primary schooling ends at standard IV, a class reached by many children at the age of ten. Intermediate and secondary schooling is not compulsory, so if primary school pupils do not gain a place in one of the few secondary schools they repeat the last year in the primary school once or even twice. Because of this an enormous percentage

132 on February 16, 1970 to a nighttime low of 55.8° F. on July 17, 1970 (Tu'ipelehake 1970: 2).

Government and Political Organization

642 In June 1970, the Kingdom of Tonga emerged from status as a British Protectorate to a fully independent nation. Today the national government of Tonga takes the form of a constitutional monarchy. Tonga has 646 177 178 parliamentary institutions which appear to be based on a Western government model, but examination of content rather than form reveals Tongan principles at work.

> The Legislative Assembly is unicameral and consists of Privy Councillors, Cabinet Ministers, Representatives of the Nobles and Representatives of the People. Eleven councillors or ministers-all but two of whom are nobles, together with a further seven Noble's representatives, represent the traditional foci of leadership. They are theoretically counterbalanced by seven representatives of the people, many of whom in fact have been elected because of qualities important in traditional Tonga. The system bears superficial resemblance to its English model: it is western in its legal form, Tongan in its benevolent but autocratic practice (Walsh 1967: 120-121).

632 [504] Nuku'alofa, the major port, is the seat of government and the center of economic, social, and religious life of the Kingdom. Nuku'alofa [368] is also the location of most secondary schools and has the largest and [162] best hospital in the islands. With a population of 15,685, 21 percent of the Tongan population resides in Nuku'alofa. Between 1956 and 1966 [161] the town showed an increase in population of 70 percent (Fiefia 1968: 11). [179] Nuku'alofa is beginning to experience the problems of rapid population growth and the attendant phenomena of unemployment, crime, and the inabilities to handle new demands on government services. Walsh (1969:

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

positions in the new order. On the other hand, Tupou himself stated at the opening of Parliament in 1875 that

> . . . the law of Tonga was up to this day that the whole of the soil of Tonga belonged to me; but this did not appear to me to be just and we have made an Ordinance as follows: The estates really belonging to the chiefs of our land shall be theirs, and they and their descendants shall hold them forever (Hunter 1963:2).

Some chiefs, however, were not granted estates, many areas remaining under the control of the King, and although the present holders of these chiefly titles are still respected for their rank, their functions are now purely ceremonial. The *'ulumotu'a*, the heads of the various lineages under a chief, also lost position, for while in the traditional land tenure system they appear to have had some function in the distribution of land, under the Constitution control over land allocation on the hereditary estates was vested solely in the estate-holders, with individuals receiving land as a direct grant from their chief.

The 1875 legislation was in several respects incomplete, and following a review by Baker, who became Minister of Lands in 1880, an Act of 1882 established the right of each male Tongan of tax-paying age to be granted a town allotment and a gardening or 'tax' allotment by the holder of the estate on which he lived. Tax allotments, which were to be heritable in the male line, were to be 100 fathoms square, or eight and a quarter acres, except in western Tongatapu and in Ha'apai where they were to be only fifty fathoms square because of the greater density of population, a provision deleted by a later Parliament. Within each estate land was to be set aside for the titleholder and for his *matapule*, but the provision for special holdings for *matapule* was also later removed.

By 1882, therefore, the basic principles of the present land tenure system had been established, and major changes in the law since then have been few. In 1891 the government was made responsible for granting allotments and estate-holders could only receive the rent. This change appears to have been made by Basil Thomson, who was sent to Tonga by the British Government after the deportation of Baker in 1890, to reduce the power of the nobles over land (Thomson 1894:230). In 1915, however, estate-holders gained the right to be consulted before allotments were granted on their estates by the Minister of Lands.

There have also been changes in the regulations relating to the size of allotments. In an attempt to stimulate agriculture by

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

settling people on their farms, and to encourage movement to more sparsely populated districts, the Land Act of 1927 provided for the grant of twelve and three-eighths acres of agricultural land to men willing to forgo their town allotment. Little came of the provision, however, only twenty-three applications being received up to 1934, when the scheme was enlarged to permit grants of fifteen acres. Although several estates on Tongatapu were laid out in fifteen-acre holdings, population growth has led to all but one being resubdivided into eight-and-a-quarter-acre allotments, and a recent amendment has reduced the area that can be granted under this provision to ten acres.

Finally, there have been some changes in the estates. In 1882 hereditary estates *(tofi'a)* were granted to thirty-six titleholders, thirty of them nobles and six of them *matapule* who, although given estates, were not made nobles. Any land not granted to a noble or *matapule ma'u tofi'a* became the estate of the King, but in 1891 Tupou handed over most of this land to the government (Thomson 1894:231). Two more nobles were created and granted estates by Tupou II and one by Queen Salote. There are thus at present several types of estate: Royal estates belonging to the King, Royal Family estates held jointly by the Royal Family, hereditary estates belonging to the nobles and a few *matapule,* and government estates under the direct control of the Minister of Lands. About sixty per cent of the population lives on hereditary estates.

Having outlined the development of the system as it exists in law we may now attempt to assess its effectiveness in practice. The following sections will discuss the acquisition and holding of land, the distribution of agricultural land between households and individuals, and the question of individual tenure and its effect on agricultural production.

ACQUIRING AND HOLDING LAND

The most common and the easiest way to acquire land is through inheritance, but land cannot be willed and the heir to an allotment is determined by precise rules laid down in the Land Act. On the death of a landholder his widow is entitled to a life interest in her husband's town and tax allotments, but she loses this right if she remarries or is found by the Land Court to have committed fornication or adultery. This latter provision is occasionally used but in recent years actions based on it have rarely, if ever, been successful (see Hunter 1963:109-10).

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

than the way in which they noose sharks ; instances of sharks attacking natives are very rare. Whales are sometimes caught. Turtles are also plentiful. Perhaps the most interesting creature in Tonga is a land-tortoise, now kept in the Palace grounds at Nuku'alofa, and reputed to have been left by Captain Cook ; it has been scarred by bush-fires and other accidents, but in its old age it is honoured as though it were a chief and is called Tu'imalila, after a part of Labaha called Malila.

The graceful coconut-palm is the most distinctive as well as the most valuable of plants in Tonga. All parts of the islands being very close to the sea, coconut trees thrive everywhere, and copra, the dried kernel of the nut, is the staple product. Other plants which grow in profusion are many varieties of banana, plantain, yam, sweet potato, talo, manioc, sugar-cane, pineapple, breadfruit, papaw-apple, mango and arrowroot. Coffee, cocoa and cotton have been introduced but are not yet extensively grown. Various European vegetables have also been introduced, and corn has proved the best cereal for this climate.

Bananas, sweet potatoes, pineapples, tomatoes, pumpkins and oranges could be exported in abundance, if markets were available. The staple foodstuffs of the people are yam, sweet potato, talo, manioc, kabe, plantain, breadfruit, etc.

The bark of the paper-bark mulberry is extensively used for making native cloth (taba and gatu), and the sap of the koka tree is used for stamping this cloth. Mats are made from the leaves of the pandanus, but unfortunately this domestic manufacture is declining generally, except in Ha'abai. The trunks of the toa (ironwood) and koka are used for the posts of native buildings, but timber generally suitable for building European houses is not found in Tonga. The ironwood or casuarina tree was used for making clubs and spears formerly, and is still used for spade handles and mallets. The best of the old canoes were brought from Fiji, where more suitable timber for all purposes is available.

Kava, the juice of a species of pepper-plant, is the national drink on all occasions. Other interesting trees are the ovava, a species of banyan ; gatae and tuitui (candle-nut) used for marking boundaries ; Malayan apple or fekika, tava, and the ifi, whose leaves were hung round the neck in token of surrender or penitence in olden times.

Government statistics in 1931 show a total of 2,658,644 coconut trees and 832,655 banana plants in the Kingdom, 94% being owned by Tongan cultivators.

EXPORTS.

Tonga is entirely an agricultural country, being without minerals and secondary industries. It is unfortunate that there are still fairly considerable areas of undeveloped land even in such a small country, especially in Togatabu and 'Eua, and further that several hundred taxpayers have no allotments ; this latter condition is mainly due to indolence on the part of some who live in the chief towns, but in the case of the overcrowded islands of Ha'abai it rises from rather a natural reluctance to leave an old home. The Government is now making strenuous efforts to enforce both more systematic cultivation of coconut-growing land and

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

179 245 [563] better methods of producing copra. The European planters are few, and the improvement of agriculture rightly lies with the Tongans themselves.

439 [245] [651] Copra, the chief product, is exported to England and America. Until better drying arrangements are more generally made, Tongan copra will continue to be regarded as of inferior quality; at present it is used largely in the manufacture of common soap and margarine. The Government levies an export duty of £1 per ton on copra. The quantity and value of copra exported in recent years are as follows:—

	Tons.	Value.
		£
1923	14,339	257,586
1924	14,533	297,487
1925	13,758	280,386
1926	13,992	255,156
1927	11,252	225,344
1928	15,671	282,344
1929	16,860	252,911
1930	14,134	169,609
1931	8,929	80,361

[458] The effect of the present world-wide trade-depression is apparent.

The export of bananas to New Zealand, through the Tonga Government, began in December, 1931. Since that date shipments varying from 3,000 to 9,000 cases have been sent, but the quantity has had to be restricted owing to the unfavourable ruling prices on the Auckland market. Sweet potatoes and pineapples have also been exported to Auckland in small quantities.

The only other article exported is edible fungus found on trees (taligeliga); this is sent to China, the average annual value in recent years being £530.

IMPORTS, WITH COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN.

The following are the total imports in recent years, together with total exports for purposes of comparison:—

	Imports.	Exports.
	£	£
1923	195,020	267,619
1924	232,600	306,658
1925	258,322	290,115
1926	227,882	263,198
1927	157,783	235,391
1928	211,907	287,668
1929	198,078	259,090
1930	148,305	183,204
1931	81,170	90,596

The chief imports, with their average total value in recent years, are: Drapery £28,170; meats (mostly tinned) £20,362; flour £10,894; bags (copra sacks) £7,401; hardware £6,419; motor cars and accessories

88: Thaman

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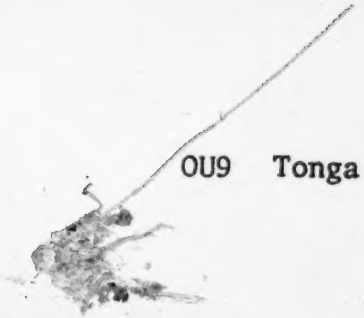

[For information on government programs of agricultural development, see Category 654.]

Table 22. Continued.

Table cloth	1	Fertilizer	1

The fungus, Auricularia polytricha, which is exported to Hong Kong, is classified as an agricultural product by the Tongan Government, and although most of it comes from the island of 'Eua, some is still found during rainy periods on dead logs in forested areas of bush allotments on Tongatapu.

At present there is a concerted effort being made by the Agricultural Department and the Tonga Commodity Boards to diversify and increase agricultural exports in order to stabilize the economy. These efforts have increased production of garden vegetables, pineapples, watermelons, root crops, and, more recently, vanilla. Nevertheless, the major export crops continue to be coconuts and bananas.

Unfortunately, the market for copra is highly unstable, and both crops are susceptible to disease, pests, hurricanes, and periodic droughts. In the case of bananas, exports depend on unreliable shipping services to New Zealand. Nevertheless, coconuts and bananas are still the major commercial crops found on the traditional bush allotment. Consequently it is important to have some background on the production of these crops.

Copra and Other Coconut Products

Prior to World War II independent traders throughout

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 156]

231 232 654 654 245 318 [313]

mares to upgrade the standard of work horses in the Kingdom.

Owing to the rapid elimination of native forest species on Tongatapu, as a result of the need for firewood and timber for banana shooks and other purposes, the Agriculture Department has a limited refcrestation program, which includes nurseries at Sopu on Tongatapu and on 'Eua and the issuance of seedlings to interested allotment holders. The major species which have been planted by individual allotment holders have been Casuarina equisitefolia, Eucalyptus spp., and Grevillea robusta, all natives of Australia, and the tropical American Cedrela odorata. The only major reforestation project in the Kingdom has been conducted on 'Eua, where 200 acres of Pinus caribaea have been successfully established (Government of Tonga, 1971c:26). On Tongatapu, there are only limited cases where farmers have planted introduced forest species on their allotments.

241 231 179

In conclusion, the overall effect of the recent introductions of new techniques and plant and animal material on the Tongan agricultural system seems to have been minimal. This is in spite of considerable subsidies offered by government agencies and a recently expanded agricultural extension program, yearly agriculture shows, a system of "Rural Broadcasting" designed to improve agricultural education over the radio, the establishment of a Government Agricultural Training Center at the Experimental Farm in Vaini, and a continued overall effort by the Agri-

241 culture Department to introduce improved plant and animal
231 varieties as well as improved husbandry practices. Out of
654 149 sample households only one belonged to the Pig Subsidy
179 Scheme and none to the Poultry or Cattle Subsidy Schemes.
[207] Where farmers have received help from these or the Banana Subsidy or Coconut Replanting Schemes, few have adhered to the specifications after receiving the benefits (Knowles, 1971, personal communication; Nusbaum, 1972, personal communications; and Liyanage, 1971 personal communication).

241 The main effects of these attempts to bring about change
231 seem to be an increased planting of commercial crops such
179 as bananas, watermelons, and European vegetables and limited expansion of livestock production. Other effects include increased production of crops suitable for livestock feed, such as manioc, sweet potato, and corn, isolated instances of introduced pasture grasses, improved or new crop varieties, and introduced forest species. There is also some evidence of limited changes in general maintenance and husbandry practices on both bush and town allotments.

241 171 crops of taro, gardens were often abandoned owing to decreasing yields and an increase in weeds or secondary vegetation. Cyperus rotundus, for example, is a particularly serious problem on Tongatapu, where gardens with vegetables such as tomatoes, lettuce, corn, and cucumbers are difficult to maintain and are often abandoned due to excessive labour required to control this weed. There are numerous other noxious weeds which are detrimental to agricultural production and are the focus of control programs.

241 178 137 In short, these trends seem to indicate that the native vegetation of Tongatapu and the traditional crop associations of the Tongan bush-fallow agricultural system are undergoing rapid change and in some cases are in danger [179] of extinction. This seems to be happening with little or no consideration being given by developmental planners to the considerable cultural and ecological importance of these plants.

90: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
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INTEGRATING TOURISM WITH OTHER INDUSTRIES IN TONGA

CHARLES F. URBANOWICZ

Tonga, with an area of 289 square miles, is approximately 550 miles southwest of the islands of Samoa and approximately 450 miles southeast of the islands of Fiji, in the "heart" of Polynesia. The principal island of the group is Tongatapu (100 square miles). The estimated population of the Kingdom is slightly over 100,000 (1975). Most Tongans speak English as a second language. The country is an independent Kingdom of the British Commonwealth of Nations.[1]

TOURISM AND THE TONGAN ECONOMY

Tongans are primarily exporters of agricultural commodities. Tourist development is still in the relatively early stages. Given certain conditions, tourism could be considered a major industry of the future for Tongans. The Kingdom has taken the position that the potential of the tourist industry is much greater than any other aspect of the economy.[2] This "potential" may well be debated, for without adequate design-for-tourism, the impact of tourism could be disastrous.

Tourists arrive in Tonga either by private yacht, by cruise ships which make one or two-day stops,

[p. 88-A]

A, B, [For footnotes, see p. 93-A--Analyst]

179 457 or by air from either Fiji or Samoa. Although accurate estimates are difficult to make, the Director of the Tongan Visitors Bureau (TVB) wrote that for 1973-1974 foreign-exchange receipts generated through tourism amounted to approximately (U.S.) $2,154,000, making tourism the second largest generator of foreign exchange after copra (U.S., $3,052,000). For 1974-1975, it was estimated that tourist-related revenues in Tonga rose to (U.S.) $3,270,000, and by 1980 it has been projected that tourist revenue could amount to as much as (U.S.) $15,300,000![3] A

The role of tourist-related revenues in the Tongan economy is increasing. A consequence of this 439 growth is that although Tongans export agricultural products, imported foodstuffs account for an increasing portion of Tongan imports. In 1973, for example, Tongans exported a total of almost $5,000,000 worth of materials. In that same year a total of $12,000,000 worth of materials was imported, of which foodstuffs constituted $4,400,000 or 27 percent. In February of 1975, Tongans imported some $1,400,000 worth of items, and foodstuffs amounted to some $713,000 or 51 percent.[4] B

[p. 88-B]

A,B,1 For footnotes, see p. 93-A--Analyst

121 a simple, stable base advancing through strata which becomes progressively more complex.

457 For Tonga, and indeed for other Pacific Islands, tourism should develop in conjunction with—
179 and perhaps only after—several basic components of the economy have been stabilized. After this, an organized tourist-oriented infrastructure must be developed including trained individuals and increased and improved transport. Tongans have gradually developed both facets of the economy, although more may be necessary.10 A

Too many tourists in Tonga could "drain" the carrying capacity of the land (as well as the patience of the Tongans). Basic food-producing industries of the Kingdom must be further improved. For example, in
[439] 1974 Tongans imported 560 tons of frozen fish, while
[228] the Tongan Government fishing vessel caught only 66 tons, roughly a ration of eight to one. In an attempt to
457 solve this, the Tongan government is encouraging loans
179 to improve the fishing industry. In addition, a three-
228 year program funded by the United Nations Develop-
648 ment Programme (UNDP) is aimed at developing the local fishing industry. The UNDP will provide Tongans with some $230,000 as well as technical and managerial assistants to work with the fishermen.

459 The UNDP (along with the International
648 Labor Organization) has also provided Tonga with basic aid toward improving the tourist infrastructure: a three-month course in tourism began late in 1974 and ended in January of 1975. Over one hundred Tongans took part in the training session. Another upgrading course started in February, 1976.

167 Development of tourism design must go
464 hand in hand with other aspects of Tongan life: more must be done to encourage the emigrating Tongans to
[459] stay in the Kingdom. Population pressure, high unem-
[177] ployment, the increasing influence of Western values, and the availability of relatively well-paid work in New Zealand compel many young Tongans to leave Tonga.
167 This movement of Tongans overseas markedly affects
464 the Tongan economy, as recent trends make clear: pri-
179 vate and government building in Tonga has fallen behind as a result of lack of skilled workers, and equipment is lying unused. One government building project lost two-thirds of its staff. What is true for the construction trade
167 is also true for the private farmer:
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> If the drain of laborers to New Zealand goes unchecked, a crisis could develop in Tonga's agriculture. This warning is sounded by the Director of Agriculture, Mr. Tomasi Simiki, who said this week the migration of workers to New Zealand—even temporarily—was already being felt in farming. Farmers are producing less because they

[p. 91-A]

A. [For footnote, see p. 93-A--Analyst]
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simply cannot find the same number of workers. "Price-hiking is becoming unavoidable as food items become scarce," Mr. Simiki said.[11] A

In 1972 the Tongan Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance pointed out that "every year only about 5 percent of the school-leavers find wage employment in the industrial and tertiary sectors" of the Tongan economy.[12] B

As a result of this untenable situation, the New Zealand overseas work scheme was begun in 1971. This system contributed significantly to Tonga's favorable balance of payments in 1972-1973. In 1971-1972, net remittances by Tongans working overseas totaled some $1,250,000; and for 1972-1973, this had increased to approximately $2,000,000. This money, along with donations, gifts, and contributions from overseas ($2,150,000), helped to offset the Tongan trade deficit.[13] C (In 1972-1973 gross tourism earnings provided Tongans with some $1,530,000. Compared with the previous year, tourism revenues increased by some 24 percent.)

Though the work scheme improves the balance of payments in Tonga, most of the money earned by Tongans in New Zealand is eventually returned to New Zealand to pay for increased imports. Also, the overseas work scheme appears to be contributing to family tensions and an increased divorce rate in Tonga.[14] D Crocombe has criticized the overseas work scheme as a form of "poorer independent islands subsidizing their rich big neighbors," even though the Tongan government requested the New Zealand government to initiate such a work program.[15] E While there may be some short-term benefits to Tongans, long-range analysis of this work scheme may prove Crocombe correct.

The Tongan government and private entrepreneurs must encourage the diversification of the Tongan economy beyond short-term overseas work schemes. Tongans, for their part, must realize that tourism is not the ultimate solution to economic stability. A 1969 United Nations consultant's report stated:

> There is no immediate prospect of absorbing in gainful employment more than a very small proportion of those who cannot find work on the land. The visitor industry (tourism) is unlikely to be a really significant employer of labor....[16] F

Besides being small-scale, tourism is unreliable as a steady source of income for Tongans. In 1972, for example, at least forty tour groups cancelled their visits to Tonga because of the uncertainty of air travel to and from the Kingdom. Late in 1973 and early in 1974, five cruise ships cancelled their stops at Tonga

[p. 91-B]

A, B, C, D, E, F, [For footnotes, see pp. 93-A & 93-B--Analyst]

457 434 because of the international oil crisis. These cancellations resulted in a large loss of expected revenues.

179 744 457 [164] Not only must the industrial sector of the economy be expanded and diversified beyond tourist development, but public health problems in Tonga and other islands must be dealt with. For example, in the past Fiji and Tonga have experienced outbreaks of mosquito-carried Dengue fever. The fever not only incapacitates and demoralizes the native population, it frightens away tourists as well.

179 Tongans must develop a balanced design of tourist development, overseas work schemes, combined with the development and improvement of local living conditions, before the economy can be stabilized. The government is currently working on its Third Development Plan for 1975-1980, and new industries, such as local fish-canning and meat-processing plants, have been suggested.[17A] 179 648 Planned overseas aid from New Zealand in the amount of $NZ5,000,000 over the next three years will be used to encourage and develop rural programs throughout the Kingdom.[18A] Such overseas support of the non-tourist sectors of the economy, combined with assistance from the United Nations Development Program for the tourist sector, could provide Tongans with balanced development.

The future of Tongans lies in greater cooperation with one another. In February of 1975, Tonga [439] [435] joined the European Economic Community as an associate member to obtain eventual stabilization of prices of Tongan items exported to Europe and possible financial aid from Europe. In 1974, Tonga and Fiji joined in a tourist promotion scheme, and more such Fijian-Tongan cooperative efforts are being planned. Late in 1976 the Pacific Islands Tourism Development Council Conference was held in Tonga. The theme of the conference revolved around cooperation in tourism efforts, and representatives were in attendance from American Samoa, Australia, the Cook Islands, Guam, Hawaii, Japan, Nauru, New Caledonia, New Zealand, North America, Papua New Guinea, Tahiti, the Trust Territory of the Pacific, and Western Samoa! Clearly, then, ideas about cooperative efforts are increasing. In August of 1976 Tonga was also represented at the Young Nations Conference held in Australia. The theme of that meeting stressed research and development in planning for the people of the South Pacific. For an integrated design for the future, all peoples should utilize as many resources as possible.[19C]

315 648 Oil may prove another source of foreign exchange for Tonga. In November of 1968, a visiting Australian geologist confirmed natural oil seepage on Tongatapu Island, and exploratory drilling was conducted by a European-based consortium in 1970 and

[p. 92-A]

A,B,C [For footnotes, see p. 93-B--Analyst]

90: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
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A truly balanced design for the future must combine the tourist interests with the other interests, both economic and cultural, in Tongan life. 179

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13. TTC, August 8, 1974.

14. De Bres 1974:8.

15. Ron Crocombe 1972:6; and see Crocombe 1973.

16. United Nations 1969: paragraph 13.

17. TTC, April 10, 1975.

18. TTC, February 20, 1975.

19. For future research dealing specifically with Tonga, the reader is encouraged to look to an M.A. in Anthropology from California State University, Chico, by Mr. R.B. Johnson Jr. Mr. Johnson gathered information on tourism and culture change in Tonga over the period February 1976-July 1976, and I am indebted to him for some recent discussions. 179 648 457 178 127

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20. TTC, March 27, 1975.

21. P.D. Wallis 1971:21.

22. Tongans still enjoy their traditional *kava* drink, but as stated elsewhere (1975b:46-47), when Tongans begin to consume more alcohol than *kava*, "Tonga will indeed have some problems, for this will be an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society has shifted." 178 457 273 674 276

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23. TTC, August 22, 1974.

24. TTC, October 12, 1972.

25. Anonymous 1970:20.

[p. 93-B]

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
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464 871 The Secretary also noted that every year, only about 5 percent of the Tongans who leave school are able to find employment in the Tongan economy.

464 167 457 To offset this serious lack of domestic employment, thousands of Tongans since 1971 have gone overseas to work, primarily in New Zealand. Their remittances to Tonga have been substantial: in 1971-72 us$1,250,000 and for 1972-73 us$2,000,000. This money, together with donations, gifts, and contributions from other overseas sources (us$2,150,000) have helped to offset the Tongan trade deficit. In addition, individual men, returning to Tonga after the expiration of overseas work permits, often bring back a substantial amount of cash (once estimated to be an average of us$1,800 per man). Although this work program was initiated at the request of the Tongan government, it has been criticized as being a form of economic subservience. The revenues obtained from this [593] unique "export item" (diligent and hardworking Tongans) have, in fact, [586] benefitted the Tongan economy, but they have also created some domestic problems: family life is disrupted for male wage earners who go overseas, and divorce appears to be increasing.

177 Tonga, as with the rest of Oceania, continues to undergo massive acculturation. The economic problems have aggravated social problems because of the inability of individual Tongans to achieve their Western-induced desires. Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are now 674 prevalent crimes in Tonga and are, unfortunately, apparently increasing 174 at a steady rate. Tongan homes now commonly have barred windows, and families may keep numerous dogs in the yard for protection. Crimes of violence have also increased, especially in attacks by Tongans on non-Tongans. The Tongan Minister of Police openly admits that in view of population pressures and economic side effects, continued potential increase of crime may reasonably be predicted.

179 457 In the face of their economic dilemma, it is not surprising that in their 1970-75 development plan, Tonga has assessed tourism as having the greatest economic potential to the Kingdom, both as an employer of labour and also as a source of foreign exchange.

The Economic Role of Tourism

457 Tourists arrive in Tonga by private yacht, by cruise ships making a one or two-day stop as part of a longer Pacific itinerary, or by air from Samoa or Fiji. Guests to Tonga in 1958 were an elite group, when only three cruise vessels landed passengers at Tongatapu, and some special flights brought a total of sixty-four air passengers from Australia (Figure 2). Subsequently, tourism has grown steadily and rapidly, and more growth is anticipated, including tourism to areas other than Nuku'alofa. In 1973,

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
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hotels for drunkenness (and for being badly dressed) in order to "protect the image of the Kingdom in the eyes of the tourist." Housebreaking, theft, and unlawful entry are prevalent crimes, and in 1973, for example, there were 427 convictions for theft.

Conclusions

Deep-seated economic problems induced by a growing population have almost engulfed the tiny islands of Tonga. The glitter of tourist money seemingly promises a substantial portion of much-needed economic help, but would it bring more "troubled times"? The current substantial cruise business might be considered relatively benign in that visitors are short-term, and they arrive and depart at a preappointed hour. Comparatively little capital or space is required to cater to their needs, aside from docking areas and taxis or busses. Further, the money cruise passengers spend is largely for local services (transportation, amusement, and for handicrafts as souvenirs) and directly benefits individuals. The threatened demise of the cruise industry, to be replaced with an increasing number of air travelers, may be potentially more disruptive to the economy and to the culture. To accommodate air visitors, hotels and resort facilities must be financed and built, and they occupy land—already in short supply, giving to it by virtue of location a changed economic value. No longer "bush" or "town," now it is "recreational" land. Given the small size of Nuku'alofa as well as Tongatapu, one must imagine the impact if one thousand guests were continually present, day *and* night, demanding that their needs be catered—including on Sunday when Tongans traditionally do not work. And although air travel is currently nascent, with a limited number of annual visitors, the advent of mass travel could "Waikiki" the beaches, and inundate local culture as has already happened in Hawaii.

The Prime Minister of Tonga (His Majesty's brother) has repeatedly stressed that Tongan culture can withstand the impact of modern tourism development. I, too, am certain that Tongans will survive; however, will they still be Tongans? Or will they become yet another example of a people who have been forced to abandon their traditions (or at least remove them "back stage" away from prying eyes) to prevent their becoming the "quaint customs" of ethnic tourism?

The anthropological analysis of economic process [here, tourism] differs from the statistical methods employed by economic planners in that the former assesses the impact upon culture and the social milieu rather than being restricted to balance-of-trade or the CPI. There is an ethnohistoric component to culture change—from then to now—just as there is a cross-cultural component—from there to here—that must be studied. Tongans must become aware of the changes that have occurred

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
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459 as a result of non-Tongan influences; they must also study the effects of
177 tourism elsewhere in the Pacific islands. From these two sources, they
178 should design for the future. The 1970-75 development plan stated that
179 tourism if properly controlled could make a positive contribution to the
economy. Possibly the wording of a new development plan should read that tourism *must be* properly controlled if it is to make a positive contribution to the economy, the Tongan hosts, and the non-Tongan guests.

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101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1 '8 OU9 Tonga OU9

drinking and sanitation remains, at best, in a precarious balance with growing urban population.

The process of urbanization has several causes which are significant in the framework of this research. Since the mid-1960s, the development of tourism, and its associated activities, have been stressed in the developmental plans of all island governments in the Southwest Pacific. This has had two immediate results in Tonga. First, many individuals within the agricultural sector of the population have given up their subsistence agricultural activities and moved into urban centers hoping to secure cash employment in handicraft or tourist related activities. This is particularly the case in Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu and Neiafu, Vava'u. This movement has not only rapidly increased the urban population but has also decreased the total acreage in agricultural production, or changed production from food crops to cash crops. Others of the rural population, who remain on their farms, often devote increasing amounts of time to the production of craft items. However, because of the rate of expansion in Tongan population, total rural population has continued to increase. Therefore, as rural population continues to grow, agricultural food production is decreasing and urban population is rapidly expanding.

The second important result of urbanization, without considering the social and cultural impact, is the growing reliance upon imported foods and urban oriented materials (Horine 1967, p. 43). As urban population increases and agricultural production of foodstuffs proportionally decreases, food imports become necessary.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

manufacturing techniques, crop and soil science, as well as animal husbandry seem appropriate areas of emphasis given Tonga's economic profile.

It is recognized any change in policy or the implementation of the above recommendations require capital outlays involving land, population and urban conditions making it imperative that the government reorder its current development priorities. This investigation concludes that a pessimistic aura regarding the future of Tonga remains. Given the social structuring and system of land tenure and agriculture, coupled with a numerically increasing and urbanizing population, Tongan government officials must face several hard realities. The nation lacks to date any economically exploitable resources save its agricultural acreage or possibly the fishing resources in surrounding ocean waters outside the reef areas. Talk of economic schemes and wealth from underseas deposits of petroleum or minerals has largely proven to be rhetoric. Tonga must quickly come to grips with the economic and population crises which are already the cause of discontent in several significant sectors of the population. Yesterday's factors of risk concerning overpopulation, malnourishment and economic instability are rapidly becoming realities of today.